

# Left Caucus newsletter

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## Labor opens debate on NDP future

By Ross Dowson  
St. David-St. George NDP

*Notes from an introductory comment by Ross Dowson to a Toronto Conference organized by the Ontario NDP Left Caucus initiating its participation in the debate on the lessons of the November 1988 federal elections.*

The debate has been launched with a blistering attack by Autoworkers President Bob White against Ed Broadbent. This debate which has no precedent in the history of Canada's labor party broke out right after the election with the publication of an article on White's contribution titled "Lost Opportunity" in the December 7, 1988 *The Toronto Star*.



—from the Saskatchewan Commonwealth

### WILL ED DROP OUT?

The seven page critique by White who is chairperson of the Canadian Labor Congress's Political Action Committee and a vice-president of both the NDP and the Labor Congress, appeared *in toto* in the January issue of *Our Times*, at the same time as the appearance of a critical 12-page contribution over the signatures of Gerard Docquier, national director of the United Steelworkers of America and Leo Gerard, USWA District 6, Director. Steel pioneered inde-

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## Quebec NDP assails federal campaign

*The following is an analysis of the 1988 federal election campaign of the New Democratic Party of Quebec. It was submitted to members of the federal executive, to the leaderships of the provincial sections and members of the NDP Federal Caucus. The ideas are those of Pierre Graveline, co-president of the NDP Quebec and are generally those held by militants of the Quebec party. It is titled: Ed Broadbent and Quebec: A missed rendez-vous.*

The ability to recognize and analyze a defeat with lucidity is essential when undertaking political action.

If one compares the overall results of the New Democratic Party on the 21st of November with those of the 1984 elections the situation is certainly not disastrous: globally the party has maintained its percentage of the overall vote and has elected a dozen more members. However one must deplore the loss of the only seat that the NDP had in the Maritimes and important setbacks in Ontario and Manitoba. In fact, it is the gains in Saskatchewan and British Columbia that staved off a catastrophe for the party. This development is much more attributable to an alignment of forces that exists in Western Canada than to the campaign run at the centre by Mr. Ed Broadbent and his counsellors. And furthermore, the problem posed to the development of the party in other provinces by the inevitable reinforcement of the character and image of the NDP-Canada as "the Party of the West" cannot be underestimated.

### No historical "breakthrough" in Quebec

If we make a comparison between the results in Quebec of the elections of 1984 and 1988 the progress is evident: the party has markedly in-

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## Black community mobilizes vs racism

Harry Kopyto  
St. Paul's NDP

The need for an independent and representative civilian review board to review complaints and control police abuse is being posed with sharp urgency in Toronto.

The impetus for this demand stems from Toronto's 300,000 strong Black community, which saw two persons killed by policemen in the last few months - Lester Donaldson, already crippled by a police bullet from an earlier incident, shot in his wheelchair while eating in his room by himself in downtown Toronto last August, and Wade Lawson, a 17-year-old high school student, shot last December with an illegal "dum-dum" bullet in the back of his

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# Labor opens debate on NDP future

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dependent labor political action. Auto is now its most dynamic partisan with White having been designated by Broadbent as his heir-apparent.

While White declares that the comments in his letter are his own, it is clear that they have wide currency in the party's ranks. "I can tell you," he declares, "that I have never seen such a level of disappointment and anger among our activists, leaders of the labor movement and candidates, at how the party strategists conducted the campaign...There is a common thread in the frustration, and that is that the NDP, our party, never really came to grips with the importance of free trade, were scared of it as an election platform, and while it was mentioned in the campaign, it certainly did not get the priority or attention or the emotion that it deserved." "In the labor movement itself there is also a feeling that while labor is an important partner with the other groups inside the NDP, its financial and people-support is accepted gratefully, but its ideas and leadership are completely ignored. It goes even further than that. There are some who have the feeling that during the recent election campaign, the leader's tour was structured in such a fashion as to distance itself from the labor movement both in appearance and issues."

The Steelworkers' leadership scored the party leadership's strategists for basing their campaign on three inter-related premises: "1) that the Liberals were in a state of collapse, 2) that if free trade were to become a central issue, the Liberals would be the sole political beneficiaries, and 3) it would be possible to low-ball free trade through the campaign." Thus "the campaign made fundamental errors in tactics and strategy and in the process betrayed the principles on which the NDP is based."

To the protests of the top spokespersons of the trade union movement against the Broadbent strategists should be added some of the criticism that appeared during the campaign itself in the Left Caucus Newsletter: that the leadership failed to present the NDP as seeking to form a majority government under its own banner but on several occasions, under the authority of Broadbent himself, talked in terms of forming coalition governments, sometimes in alliance with the Liberals and other times with the Tories. That on the eve of the election the federal council made a public display of the crudest opportunism, undermining the party's antiwar stance by dumping its longstanding commitment to withdrawal from the U.S.-dominated NATO/NORAD military alliances. Faced with the Tories' demagogic attempt to present "free trade" as a vision of the future Canada and as a leap of faith in Canada, the NDP leadership failed to counterpose socialism -- a policy of public ownership and a planned economy under popular democratic control, but just a blank negative No vote.

Other well-known NDPers are now speaking up and more are certain to do so. Among them are the re-elected Ontario MP, Howard McCurdy (Windsor-Lake St. Clair), Howard Pawley, former leader of the Manitoba NDP who contested the federal riding of Selkirk and David Orlikow, whose defeat in Winnipeg

North ended a 26 years tenure along with the defeat in Winnipeg North Centre which had been held by the CCF-NDP since the days of J.S. Woodsworth and the Winnipeg General Strike. The ex-premier of Manitoba denounced Broadbent's election strategy of down-playing the free trade issue. "The party's strategists failed to respond to changes during the campaign. The party spread itself too thin, particularly when it became clear free trade was the issue in the election." According to the **Saskatchewan Commonwealth**, "while Orlikow agrees with White and Pawley, he feels that Broadbent should shoulder part of the blame for the election results."

The debate is now underway. The party is moving towards its summer convention. It would seem probable that failing to win the post as leader of the parliamentary opposition with its many perks and handsome salary, Broadbent will take his posh pension and retire from the House and leadership of the party. That would immediately set off a leadership contest. Such a contest could completely swamp the necessary political debate with a leadership popularity contest. That is why the political discussions must get well underway at once. Discussions must be slated, resolutions passed, delegates elected and interventions prepared in every constituency association and every union local, and force the issues raised by White and others up front and centre.

## Blacks charge police

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head while driving an allegedly stolen vehicle near his home in Mississauga.

Through repeated rallies and demonstrations led by united front groups such as the Black Action Defence Committee, Toronto's outraged Black community was able to force criminal charges to be laid against those responsible for the killings (though on less serious manslaughter charges ensuring preferential treatment to the police). The broad-based campaign, which maintained unity in the face of police efforts to find "responsible" Black leaders to negotiate with, succeeded in posing the clear need for a civilian review board representative of the traditional victims of police abuse in pushing municipal politicians, including Toronto's mayor Art Eggleton, to admit the legitimacy of the Black Community's concerns and to challenge businessmen to end institutional discrimination.

The NDP and the labor movement have identified with the Black community's efforts to defend itself. Socialists have always understood that the fundamental issue posed by police abuse is not whether the police are out of control-- but rather who in fact does control them. The police historically serve to protect those who have property from those who don't. Those who challenge the status quo, whether workers on the picket line, visible minorities complaining about discrimination, women protesting inadequate police protection in sexual assault cases and young people protesting against the arms drive tend to be targetted by police. It is only when these groups are given majority representation on independent bodies with the power to charge and discipline offenders that the possibility of preventing police abuse can become a reality.



# Estonians make gains

By Bill Clinton

Scarborough-Agincourt NDP

In recent months, the tiny Soviet Republic of Estonia has posed one of the sharpest challenges to Soviet Premier Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, calling into question the sincerity of the Soviet leader's program. In December, deputies of the Estonian Supreme Soviet (Parliament) voted by 200 to 18, with 15 abstentions, to stand by a decision they had adopted overwhelmingly the month before. They had declared that the Estonian legislature had the right to veto all legislation from Moscow except on foreign affairs and defence matters.

Despite opposition from Russian-speakers, they also declared Estonian to be the official language of the republic. An official language policy, similar to Quebec's, was adopted, requiring Russian doctors, managers, and Communist Party officials working in Estonia to learn the native language within four years. Tiit Koldits, a member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, said in a recent interview that "In reality, we have two communities: Estonian and Russian, living here in segregation. Estonians have had to learn Russian but the Russians do not learn Estonian. They had a real colonialist approach."

Estonians are sensitive to the language question, and many fear that they may become a minority in their own homeland, and that their language will disappear. The percentage of the population that is native Estonian has dropped to just over 60%, from more than 90% in the 1940's. Waves of Russian immigrants, attracted by the development of heavy industry, moved to Estonia over the years but resisted learning the language, a result of their Great Russian chauvinism and a reflection of the Stalinist policy of Russification.

The Popular Front, whose main demands are reflected in the recent moves by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, is a broad umbrella group. A large part of its supporters are members of the CP. Five of its six top leaders are party members and at the front's recent conference, 20% of the delegates were CP members. This is a high percentage, when one considers that out of the Estonian people as a whole, only 10% are party members. The front has regular contact with sections of the Finnish and Swedish left, and has sent economic aid to the Sandinista government of Nicaragua and to the earthquake victims in Armenia.

While Moscow seems to have reached a compromise with the Estonians for the moment, Gorbachev's reaction to their demands has been notable for its viciousness. He referred to their just demands as "totally unacceptable" and slandered them as, calling them "extremists of the nationalist kind", and warned them of the "dire consequences of their actions." He equated them with the racist, anti-Armenian mobs in Azerbaijan (who shout pan-Islamic slogans, hold up pictures of Ayatollah Khomeini, and call for opening the border with Turkey), despite the fact that there has been no violence in Estonia toward the Russian settlers.

What does the Popular Front say in reply? Tiit Kabin recently said: "The sovereignty of the Soviet Re-

publics, set by the Soviet Constitution, is nothing but a myth, and therefore more and more voices are calling for a union of truly sovereign states to be formed on the basis of a treaty." Mart Tarmac, Popular Front spokesman, in an interview in *Internationaalen*, a Swedish socialist paper, said "Lenin's view of the national question was distorted by Stalin ... The objective for us is for the Soviet Union to become a union of self-governed republics, as the country's name in fact says."

## White demands open debate

By Ross Dowson

St. David-St. George

Along with a quite unprecedented, trenchant and public criticism of the party's federal election campaign strategy by a leader of the party and one of its most dynamic affiliates, president of the Canadian Auto Workers Bob White calls for a full debate within the party -- "a debate which must commence immediately while events are still fresh in everyone's mind." He brushed aside such traditional platitudes as "lotta continua" (the struggle goes on), about "bleeding a while and rising to fight again." "We need," he emphasizes, "after we have had the appropriate discussion about election 1988, a thorough discussion and examination of where we go from here."

"Can we seriously say we will be building to form a national government soon? Are we going to be a party that clearly identifies with working people? What really is the role of the labor movement inside the party? How can we in future campaigns insure that the leader, the tour and the strategists are not insulated from other points of view?", he challenges.

There are many matters that should be considered - a pan-Canadian journal with serious contributions from any and all unions, any affiliate or associate body, information and opinions on the global struggle, the organization of the NDP political action committees in the union locals, solidarity committees, cultural groups, etc. Since some locals and clubs do not on their own have the resources, the Ontario Left Caucus will be shortly announcing a series of forums dealing with suggested themes and topics. The first series will be a response to the call for assistance in formulating "an integrated economic policy for the federal organization" Based on a resolution passed by the 1987 Federal Convention the PRC has invited submissions on such concerns as - "the connections between local economic initiatives and national economy- the exploration of new democratic and decentralized models of public ownership- the development of specific proposals reflecting a commitment to affirmative action to guarantee that women will realize new opportunities for jobs, economic equity for minorities..." etc., etc.

The committee has suggested that submissions be about five pages and received before April, by the Federal Policy coordinator Brian McKee at 600-280 Albert St., Ottawa K1P 5G8. The schedule of the ONDP Left Caucus forums will be available by contacting us at our post office box number.



# Quebec NDP speaks out on election defeat

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creased its percentage of the popular vote; it was second in six ridings and a "good" third (with more than 15%) in some twenty other ridings, it developed a degree of organization never attained in the past. These are solid bases on which to organize and one should rejoice; if only for the quality of the democratic life at the grass-roots that this progress will ensure.

But we have to admit frankly and humbly, that the historic "breakthrough" so longed for, so waited for, for which so many militants have worked over the last three years has not been attained.

We have to admit also that the results of the election of 21st of November constitute a setback for a party that had held out so much hope when it manifested an "historic" openness towards Quebec during its last federal convention and which collected between 30% and 40% of the intentions to vote in the year before the elections.

How does one explain such a setback for a party which, at the moment that the elections were called, could hope to become the official opposition and this according to most of the polls and in the opinion of the majority of observers of the political scene?

Even though they had their effects, invoking the massive intervention of business and the polarization of the debate over the question of free trade does not yield satisfactory explanations; moreover, it must be explained why this polarization developed between the Conservatives and the Liberals and not between the Conservatives and New Democrats!

## Bad analysis, "suicidal" strategy

Well before the elections, the strategy of Mr. Broadbent was already decided. It was based, by and large, on the following analysis: the Conservative Party would retake power and the Liberal Party, riddled by its internal contradictions, would sink. The NDP should therefore position itself to occupy the place left vacant by the Liberals.

According to this hypothesis it was necessary to, and all at the same time: capitalize on the popularity of Ed Broadbent and to focus the campaign on his reputation for honesty and integrity, dilute the too 'radical' image of the party by distancing it from labour movement and by looking for candidates from backgrounds perceived as "respectable", strike-out the most controversial elements of the program from the election platform, soft pedal all contentious items including the question of free trade... In brief it was necessary, without saying it, to negotiate a turn towards the center to please the traditional clientele of the Liberal Party and to project a reassuring image.

In the first weeks of the campaign we saw how this strategy was translated into electoral promises for "ordinary Canadians" and a so-called inviting "low key" publicity campaign.

**Passed on the left by John Turner**

However the aggressive publicity campaign of the Liberals soon made that of the NDP look pale and ineffectual and in the game of electoral promises, Ed Broadbent, refusing demagoguery, was out-played by John Turner and Brian Mulroney!

And then came the famous televised debates, where a John Turner in full possession of his facts and assurance and continually aggressive didn't hesitate to attack big business (!), imposed himself as the credible alternative to Brian Mulroney, and above all, as the leader of the opposition to free trade.

In this way, at the very moment that Ed Broadbent was moving from the left to the center to get the liberal vote, John Turner was able to use the left lane to capture the vote of those that opposed free trade! We can ask ourselves why Mr. Broadbent, who never stopped repeating that "the Liberals in opposition talk like the NDP and in power govern like Conservatives", never foresaw or countered this gambit.

Above all we can ask ourselves how it was possible that in the days after the debate, when it had become evident to all that free trade was the central issue of the election campaign and that far from being dead, John Turner had grabbed the bull by the horns, the people around Mr. Broadbent did not judge it appropriate to realign a strategy that was manifestly suicidal.



We all know what followed, the polarization that developed, the sinking of the support for the NDP in the polls.

## No "distinct strategy" for the "distinct society."

If these errors of judgment partially explain the setback of the NDP in Canada and in Quebec they cannot explain everything. Other elements must be taken into consideration, notably the "ancestral" reflex of the Quebecers that supported the "p'tit gars de chez nous" (favorite son) who is called Brian Mulroney.

Among these other elements, there is no doubt that one was decisive; the obstinate refusal to translate the symbolic recognition of Quebec as a "distinct society" into a distinct electoral strategy.

The fact that the NDP didn't have a particular strat-  
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# Quebec NDP critique

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egy, nor a specific platform, nor a clearly identified spokesperson in Quebec was remarked upon by all of the Quebec media at one time or another.

During the whole campaign Mr. Broadbent appeared isolated, without support, strangely silent about major Quebec preoccupations, contenting himself for the most part to repeat here, in French, what he had said the day before in Ontario or in the west. To emphasize one example, the question of the environment, so important in Quebec since "Saint-Basile", was never given major status as an issue in the campaign by the party. As inconceivable as it might be the NDP was the only of the three major parties not to present an economic redevelopment plan for Montreal.

The crowning mixup was achieved at the moment of the famous "declaration des sept" in favor of the French language. Even though his office had authorized the declaration Mr. Broadbent rapidly ceded to pressures orchestrated by **The Gazette** and certain anglophone candidates in west end Montreal. Without disavowing them formally, he distanced himself from these francophone candidates publicly, manifesting in this way that his "opening" to Quebec was unfortunately largely symbolic.

## Excessive centralization in Ottawa

Having been an intimate observer of the preparation and functioning of the NDP campaign in Quebec, I can bear witness to the sincere and continuing efforts made by the leaders of the party in Quebec and in particular the associate president of the NDP-Canada, Mr. Agnaieff, in trying to adapt

Mr. Broadbent's strategy and above all, in trying to convince him of the necessity of equipping himself with an electoral platform that would take into consideration the preoccupations of Quebec, to allow the emergence of a Quebec lieutenant and to develop a real team of Quebec spokespersons for the campaign.

I must in all honesty say that his efforts were in vain. Mr. Broadbent preferred to centralize the control of the Quebec campaign in the hands of his principal secretary who, ignoring democratic structures, developed a parallel network of communications, intervened to support certain candidatures, imposed his personnel and his vision of things, and comported himself like a general in occupied territory.

For example, several weeks before the beginning of the campaign, financial problems were invoked to lay off the only researcher working in Montreal. This person was supposed to prepare the public interventions for the eventual Quebec spokesperson!

And furthermore, a strange thing for a party leader who aspired to become the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Broadbent never judged it necessary to take a single francophone Quebecer as aide or to encourage the hiring of personnel from Quebec in the Ottawa office of the party.

A profound incomprehension of the Quebec reality, mistrust of the Quebec nationalists active in the party? Persistence of the ghosts of centralization in

the people surrounding him? Whatever the reasons may be, Mr. Broadbent missed his rendez-vous with Quebec and he has to take most of the responsibility.

## A necessary examination of conscience

In the days after the federal election of November 21, the New Democratic Party of Canada cannot forego asking itself some serious questions about its analysis of the political situation, about its program and its electoral platform, about its strategies and its attitudes vis-a-vis Quebec....If it does not want to confine itself to a marginal role in politics and wait for another quarter of a century for a hypothetical "historical" rendez-vous with Quebec.

For the social democrats in Quebec that find it necessary to be active on the federal level, the NDP-Canada remains without doubt the most interesting voice. This is because it is the place where trade unionists, feminists, ecologists and pacifists who want to work towards profound changes in Canada can find a common ground.

They must, however, understand that independently of the choices that they make in the months that come about policy, structures and leadership of the NDP-Quebec, a major political battle is waiting for them in Ottawa.

A Quebec wing of the NDP-Canada will have to face-up to the same problems that the NDP-Quebec has had to and will have to arrive at the same conclusions: it is not simply with goodwill, even less by abasing ourselves ("aplaventrisme"), but by the mutual and patient construction of a balance of forces that we will achieve a state of affairs where the voice of Quebec will be heard in the federal party.

To those who will be tempted to reproach me for publicly pronouncing my views on the election campaign, I say simply that it seemed to me that the time for silence had passed and it was my responsibility to bring up these questions that are so fundamental to the future of the NDP.

## Feminist challenge to NDP women

By Lois Bedard

High Park-Swansea NDP

There is an old saying that states: "A socialist who is not a feminist lacks breadth. A feminist who is not a socialist lacks strategy." Women voters know that NDP policy best reflects their interests but they do not vote NDP in significant numbers because few NDP rank-and-file members are active participants in the social mobilizations that makes achieving the policy a reality.

NDP feminists fought and are fighting for better childcare but the grassroots female members of the NDP are in the cheering section, not committed to evolving the social mobilizations necessary to win a national non-profit childcare program. Having committed their time and energy mostly into election campaign activities, where feminist and socialist issues have been downplayed in deference to a campaign centred around the personality of the party leader, they are too busy trying to clear off the ridings' debts incurred by their candidates in the last

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# Feminism and NDP

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election.

Canadians need a socialist NDP whose policies are sustained by an informal committed mass movement operating both within and outside the party.

A first priority for the rejuvenation of the NDP is to rebuild and inspire by holding exciting political riding association meetings that generate debate and vitality in the life of the party assisted by a federal NDP political newspaper.

With an informed, conscious, and active membership, no leader would be detached or closeted from the candidates on the hustings and the membership in the streets. The parliamentary caucus would be responsive to the membership's criticism of the travesties of the Meech Lake Accord as it relates to women, the Indians and Metis, the Yukon and North West Territories and the francophones of Canada.

Instead of denigrating the right to choose by allowing caucus members to vote according to individual taste on abortion, in the House and on the hustings, our

leaders would popularize our policy on abortion as a basic civil right. We need to lead the silent majority of Canadians on this dual policy stating "Every mother a willing mother; every child a wanted child" and "No new laws on abortions- abortion is not a criminal offence, it is a matter of personal conscience of women".

Our elected members need to speak, and to lead our membership and carry our banners in the daily rough and tumble of political actions, on the picket lines, in the union hall meetings, the riding associations and in mass mobilizations such as the International Women's Day on March 4 at U of T Convocation Hall.

In between and during elections, the membership and the elected leadership need to illustrate in action the difference between our goals as socialist leaders of the workers and the corporate leadership of the multinationals in the capitalist parties of the Liberals and Conservatives.

The NDP leadership needs to renew the roots of Canadian socialism with open political debate and consciousness-raising to give life and strength to the NDP.

## First Fruits of the Free Trade Agreement

With 43 per cent of the vote compared to 52 per cent polled by the Liberal-NDP opposition, the Mulroney Tories carried the day with their so-called Free Trade Act. Impatiently, on election day itself, they called together a small group of Conservative cabinet members to sign a secret order-in-council that allowed American Express (Amex) to break the stranglehold that Canada's banking fraternity has long held on the banking and credit system of the country.

No less a figure than the chairman of the Toronto-Dominion Bank broke ranks to accuse the Tories of paying off Amex for the energetic lobbying efforts of its president James Robinson III to get the U.S. Congress to sign the free-trade agreement. Although forced to apologize, Thomson still complained that the concession to Amex threatened to open the doors wide to all kinds of new commercial entries into the field of banking, like Ford and Sears, because they encompass financial services in their current operations — the government's ra-

tionale to justify granting Amex's right to set up a bank.

Canada is already one of the most monopoly-ridden countries in the world. According to a just released Statistics Canada study, "the top hundredth of a per cent of all enterprises account for 44.0 per cent of the assets." With the passage of the Free Trade Act, on January 18, Molson and Carling O'Keefe breweries agreed to merge for a total share of 53% of Canada's beer market. The following day, PWA Corp. agreed to buy Wardair Inc. reducing the number of national airlines to two. A day later Imperial Oil acquired most of Texaco Canada, giving Imperial 34% of the retail gasoline market. Next, Chicago-based Stone Container bought out forestry giant Consolidated-Bathurst Inc.

The costs of these non-productive corporate rake-offs will inevitably be borne by the working people. There must be a better way. Socialists call for public ownership and a planned economy of production for use, not profit.

Laid out in a Union Shop

## Left Caucus newsletter

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## Build the movement Bob White says

By Steve Sobol

Glendon Campus NDP (York University)

On March 2, 1989, Bob White, CAW-Canada President, released a letter titled From Defeat to Renewal Our Party: Where Do We Go Now?. It is a response to



Bob White, CAW-Canada president

the electoral defeat of the working-class by corporate Canada during the "free trade" election of November, 1989. Although the NDP won a record number of seats, the Party was virtually shut out from areas east of Ontario despite the fact that it stood number one in popularity a few weeks prior to the election. The election result has forced the NDP to re-examine itself. As a result of this re-evaluation, some within the Party have suggested that the NDP should move more towards the "centre". Included among them are those who feel that the NDP should forget about Quebec since Quebec failed to deliver a single NDP representative. However, Mr. White, along with many other members within the NDP, considers that this would be a tragic mistake.

On stating his view as to where the Party should head after the electoral fiasco, Mr. White did note some important gains. First, he observed that "tens of thousands of Canadians -- particularly working people -- entered politics" by organizing demonstrations and encouraging open and democratic debate. Indeed, they expanded the realm of politics since they did not stop at marking an X on a piece of paper. Second, he pointed out that the election exposed the "neutrality" myth of the Business Council

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## Broadbent supports market economy

By Barb Mersereau  
Hamilton NDP

*This article discusses some issues raised in Ed Broadbent's March 4/89 speech to the NDP federal council meeting. It questions the rightist drift that seems to underlie statements like: "As we close the 20th century the serious debate about the future... is not about the desirability of a Market Economy. For most thoughtful people that debate is now closed. Market economies have been responsible for the production of more goods and services since the second World War than were produced in all of previous human history... We New Democrats believe in the marketplace including: private investment decisions, reduced tariffs, private property, the free disposal of assets, the right to make a profit, decentralized decision-making."*

Which rights have priority, those of private property to make a profit no matter what the cost, or public access to clean air and water, for example? And what does "believe in the marketplace" mean? That it is the best instrument to provide for social needs such as health and education for all?

Can we agree with Mr. Broadbent that capitalism's market economy can begin to address the modern social morass we are stuck in? He says: "It's only by having social democratic policies by the state representing the priorities of the majority that the values of community and equality can flourish within a market society. **Social democrats and conservatives both understand this.** The difference is we believe the power of government should be used to this end."

First, let's understand clearly that a market economy's goal is to sell goods at a profit to its investors. To say it creates wealth, jobs, and boom times are not its purposes. They are incidental. The purpose of selling commodities is to create wealth -- for the owners of capital. Why else would anyone be interested in manufacturing doll clothes, flavored toothpaste, or automatic juice squeezers?

We could forgive the marketplace's frivolities and worse if there were no hungry, homeless and sick people in the world. There is a lot of evaporation in the "trickle down" theory. It's a very long way down indeed, for most people.

A common myth is the market economy produces what people want. This notion ignores such realities as the fact that many can't afford what they "want" (need) -- a roof over their heads and food on the table.

Capitalism is not unlike the dreaded "civil service", so loathed and derided by Big Business and its ideologues. A person working for another person has no more initiative than a person working for a government. Lacking capital, most people do not and cannot

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# Ed Broadbent believes in the marketplace

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own their own business. So how can the fruits of the capitalist system be available to a wage earner to whom profits are irrelevant? How is a worker's "self-interest" served when (s)he doesn't see the profits, only her/his same wage, regardless of the profit levels of the employer?

Modern capitalism is international corporate domination of the economies of most nations. What this wild and uncontrolled expansion has already done to the environment and to the conditions of life in the Third World is now obvious to all. Should we expect the capitalist jungle to care about its inhabitants, especially the weaker members?

Can there be political democracy without economic democracy especially when the major decisions affecting peoples' daily lives are made by a tiny but powerful group of corporate leaders?

Is the market demanding luxury condominiums? Apparently. Who are the buyers? Whoever has plenty of bucks. Does this get "housing" built? Many luxury condos are turned over so fast one gets dizzy. Speculation is an accepted fact of our market-oriented society.

Our society tinkers with rent controls. Rent controls don't provide people with places to live. Publicly planned house-building programs do.

The chief fault of a capitalist-based economy is it takes no role in the distribution of wealth. It concentrates power in the hands of a few faceless companies, behind whom hide the powerful persons and families that are the overwhelming beneficiaries of this system-which-is-not-a-system, but a wild cancerous growth.

The first step is to at least acknowledge that capitalism has no direct interest in helping the environment, feeding the starving, or housing the homeless. If this simple fact could be grasped by social reformers and the NDP leadership and admitted publicly, we might have a start.

Then we could say: yes, perhaps capitalism is very efficient at production. And making profits for a few people. Even raising the standard of living of the first world much higher than that of second and third world countries. But it is blind to best interests. It simply is not the business of a market system to decide whether what it is producing is "good" for consumers.

How did we get to the point of socialist systems being equated in the minds of the public with evil, ineptitude, corruption, violent repression, etc., and "free enterprise" being equated with all that is virtuous?

We need a socialist, activist government that dares to lead. A government which seeks the support of working people to eliminate the alienating conditions of labor through self-management of publicly owned and planned enterprises. A government that puts a higher premium on the preservation of the environment and the rights of Native people to their ancestral homeland over the profit needs of oil, mining, and lumber corporations.

Socialists should not trade off the promise of jobs against these rights as in the case of the Innu in Labrador. If the capitalist market needs to use prejudice against women and ethnic minorities in order to turn them into sources of cheap labor it should be dismissed. When the market casts aside the productive integration of disabled people or essential social services or full employment because they deplete profits, socialists must respond with a refusal to waste the potential of human beings to satisfy the urgency of the capitalist market to produce goods (many of them useless and redundant) as its goal of efficiency.

We cannot hide our heads in the sand and profess faith in an antiquated and inadequate "system" that has brought the entire planet to the brink of destruction, if not by war and bombs and radioactivity, then by lack of wealth-distribution and cavalier disregard for the environment.

Let us harken back to the CCF and the Regina Manifesto which sought the abolition of the market as the driving force of production, looked to a socialist cooperation of producers to eliminate profit as an incentive for war, waste, want and unemployment. It is not that these ideas have left the consciousness of New Democrats. Convention policy calls for the nationalization of a major bank. It advocates unconditional withdrawal from NATO and NORAD. Native rights, environmental cleanliness, nationalization of the potash industry in Saskatchewan, medicare, public housing policies: these are examples of Canadian socialism's legitimate and promising heritage.

Ed Broadbent's retreat to the marketplace, his dismissal of socialist planning as irrelevant, reflects a weakening of resolve. His is the "realism" of surrender to the logic of an inherently inhumane and unequal system.

The NDP can and must provide the will to turn around society's headlong rush to the apocalypse. The technology, resources and apparatus are there to be grasped and steered in a new direction. The courage to fight for socialist planning must be stimulated and promoted; soon it will be too late. Already the currents are swift, and we are losing the back-peddling momentum. We must wake up New Democrats, and the majority of Canadians, to take up the battle to influence our future. There is no time to be lost.





# Women's panel at L.C. conference

By Lois Bedard

High Park-Swansea NDP

*The ONDP Left Caucus launched the 1989 Annual Conference on Feb. 25/89 with a morning session on "Women's Struggle for Equality". Key activists on pay equity, abortion laws, child care and planning the community for women updated Left Caucus attendees on continuing struggles. Below is a synopsis of the speeches.*

Julie Davis, Secretary-Treasurer of the OFL, announced that a major priority for the Federation is their campaign around pay equity since the 1988 Ontario Pay Equity Law (Bill 154) excludes over one million women (largely immigrant and visible minority) who work in traditionally female low-paid sectors of the economy.

The labor movement and the Equal Pay Coalition have proposed specific steps the government could take to address the problem in the private sector:

- \*extend coverage to workplaces of less than 10
- \*include all casual workers
- \*expand the definition of establishment to a corporate rather than geographic structure
- \*allow proportionate comparisons where equal value comparisons are not possible
- \*allow the same timetable of payouts for these other women as is presently in the Act.

In the public sector, Ms Davis argues for:

- \*the government to earmark additional funds to cover pay equity for all publicly-funded agencies
- \*specific proposals for broadening the definition of establishment and allowing for pay equity adjustments for groups like day care workers, library workers, visiting homemakers, etc.
- \*allow the Pay Equity Tribunal to function as a "Court of Last Resort to establish male comparators where none of the above remedies apply.

CUPE's Judy D'Arcy, now a co-chair of the OFL's Women's Committee, will be co-ordinating the OFL September campaign around the theme "One million are denied pay equity; they shouldn't have to wait any longer!"

*Continued on page 5*

## Native struggles on the upswing

By Harry Kopyto

St. Paul's NDP

The Innu of Labrador are locked in a life and death struggle against war, for protection of their environment and preservation of their way of life.

The dangers stem from 8,000 low-level flights NATO bombers flying across their ancestral homelands and hunting grounds every year. It threatens to soon escalate to 40,000 or more a year as Canada seeks to entice other NATO members to use Native territory as a war-zone for their supersonic jets and missiles.

A major court victory was won in April when 4 Innu leaders had charges of causing a disturbance thrown out against them for occupying the airport runway in Labrador.

The Innu struggle raises three issues of fundamental importance to New Democrats. First is the struggle against NATO and the militarization of Canada's economy. The transformation of tens of thousands of square kilometres of Labrador into a war-zone for NATO members locks Canada into a key supportive role for the U.S. arms industry. Similar tests in Nevada have resulted in protests which closed down a like military complex and in the granting of \$10 million of compensation to residents.

Second is the environmental issue. Fauna and flora and Native inhabitants are being subjected to terrifying, unhealthy sonic booms, and systematic destruction of the land by bombing.

Third, but not least in importance, is the issue of self-determination and the preservation of the Native way of life. With the animal life destroyed or frightened by the military operations and thousands of square kilometres declared off-limits to inhabitants, trappers and hunters, many of the 10,000 Innu members have been driven off the land into military complexes and schools where they lose their identity. A once proud and peaceful people have become dependent on the federal military establishment for jobs and support.

The recent court victory, unprecedented in previous court battles which have seen more than 150 Innu convicted of offences for protesting the NATO operation, has resulted from the unity and militancy of the young Innu both female and male.

The heroic and inspiring Innu struggle deserves active support from the NDP, whose leadership in the past have supported the NATO test-flight use as a means of providing local jobs. Despite the fact that the Party proclaims itself as anti-NATO, pro-Native rights and pro-environment, the NDP leadership has yet to direct the party into support for the Innu.

The Native community constitutes a "natural" constituency for us -- the most exploited and discriminated against national entity in Canada whose militancy is on the upswing. A Native fast, demonstrations and sit-ins which swept 10 cities

*Continued on page 5*

## Alberta NDPers launch Left Caucus

By Gord Doctorow

Oriole NDP

Of particular interest to socialists in the NDP is the news that another Left Caucus is being formed in Alberta. In a conversation with one of its organizers, Peter Matilainen, I discovered that this fledgling group has organized a founding conference in Edmonton the June 16-18 weekend. NDP Justice Critic Svend Robinson was a featured speaker. On the agenda were policy matters relating to the Alberta NDP Provincial Convention slated for the end of June.

But organizers have also been involved in making cross-Canada contacts with NDP left wingers in preparation for the federal convention.

Some of the issues of serious concern to Alberta Left Caucus are Native rights, the environment and antiwar issues. Left Caucus supporters have already been involved in participating in demonstrations in solidarity with Chinese students, reflecting their internationalist outlook.



# Workers are basis of socialism: Bob White

*Continued from page 1*

on National Issues. Third, is the fact that the Tories were forced to make ideological concessions to the maintaining of social services which "showed that Canadians are not about to trust the corporations to speak in the national interest; that regional divisions are less important than class divisions."

Such concessions demonstrated that political power does exist outside the confines of the House of Commons and that the working-class does have the ability to fight for and protect its own interests.

As for the future, he pointed out that the Party should make sure that it "identifies its constituency and identifies with this constituency; that it joins our struggles inside and outside parliament, between elections as well as during elections. Not only the Party's attitudes but also its structures must reflect this perspective -- especially in terms of its relationship to the labour movement, the social movements, and the Party's own activists."

The constituency that Mr. White is talking about is the working-class. The Party must make sure that it always reflects the interests of the working-class because the NDP arose from this class in order to protect it from the inadequacies brought about by "laissez-faire" capitalism. It should not move to the right. Such a move would mean a betrayal since it would force the NDP to concede to the interests of capital over those of workers.

Those who suggest the NDP should move right also suggest that the Party should sever or loosen its ties with the labor movement. Mr. White rightly condemns this line of thinking. To be sure, the union links probably do weaken the Party's popularity and they often fail to deliver the vote. However, as Mr. White points out, such a move would be suicidal since "any vision of socialism has to be based on the working-class." Through the union movement, the working-class was instrumental in fighting for the extension of democratic rights and minimum standards in the work place. Moreover, it was the labor movement which fought for and won public pensions, unemployment insurance, co-op housing and medicare. Consequently, to sever its ties with the union movement would mean that the NDP has undermined its capacity to fight for basic ideals.

Along with a suspicion of the labor movement comes a suspicion of other social movements. To be sure, many social movements compete with the NDP instead of working with the Party. Moreover, many of these social movements contain small "I" liberals. But, as Mr. White points out, these realities are beside the point. He states, "If many of the activists in these movements are not yet supporters of the NDP, that's not a problem but a challenge."

By making ourselves allies with these other social movements, members of the NDP will be able to show why liberalism, and hence capitalism, is not the answer to the many problems plaguing our society today. By aligning ourselves with these other movements, we can show them that liberalism is the cause and not the solution. We can demonstrate how

an independent, socialist Canada can help alleviate many of the problems we face today.

Addressing the issue of Quebec, he notes there has been a growing feeling that the Party should turn its back on the mainly francophone province because of the NDP's failure to win a single seat there. This misguided attitude is being fueled by the direction of the language debate with the establishment of Bill 178 by the Bourassa regime. But we must reject this kind of thinking because, as Mr. White points out, such thinking "would be unprincipled and because we need a base in Quebec if we're serious in our politics."

To reject Quebec would be unprincipled because it would mean that we are turning our back on socialism. Emil Durkheim once defined socialism as "a cry of pain, sometimes of anger, uttered by people who feel most keenly our collective malaise." For over 200 years the people of Quebec have felt their collective malaise. The 1867 deal granted Quebec provincial rights but at the expense of its national rights. The people of Quebec never really accepted that deal which was imposed by the British Colonial Office, politicians and business elites. The Quebecois were never given an opportunity to vote on a piece of paper ignored its right to self-determination. Indeed, the BNA Act of 1868 didn't even recognize Quebec as being a distinct society. Yet the history of Quebec before and since Confederation suggests the distinctness and separateness of that society. It is different from the rest of Canada in significant ways with its own language, ideology, and values. In brief, Quebec is, according to widely accepted criteria of nationhood, a nation, long dominated by a society foreign to itself. Socialists must understand these fundamental realities and adjust ourselves to them.

Again, these same people who suggest that the NDP should pursue a middle-of-the-road course often argue the Party should avoid discussing economics because socialists have no alternative. Socialists must reject this view simply because we must and do have alternatives. As Mr. White points out, the socialist alternative does not sit well with business. He goes on to say, "We should put their judgements in the perspective of their interests and not be so defensive about our own policies." Over the past five years, the Tories have been implementing a "credible" economic program which has primarily worked for the benefit of the capitalist class. While these so-called credible economic policies appear to have brought capitalism out of the recession of 1981-82, they have also meant falling wages for the worker and a growing gap between rich and poor.

Mr. White concludes that the "Party has in fact been trying to be a moderate and centrist Party." It has been doing this because the name of the game is to get elected. But all this centrist propaganda has merely resulted in a blurred line between the NDP and the Liberals. Do we as socialists want to be confused with the Liberals? As Bob White stated, "the name of the game is not simply to achieve electoral success....The name of the game is to win power for a specific purpose: to carry out the Party's program and build a fundamentally different society."

*The next issue of the Newsletter will feature an eyewitness report on Chinese students in Tiananmen Square, before & after martial law, by Left Caucus supporter Angie Codina.*



# L.C. Women's panel

Continued from page 3

Robin Rowe, National Coordinator of CARAL, spoke on Choice and the historic struggle culminating in the removal of abortion from the Criminal Code. CARAL realized the next battle would be to keep abortion from being put back into the Criminal Code. In the midst of the pro-legislation backlash which immediately followed the Morgentaler decision, the NDP decided to come out against any new criminal law for abortion, a position which is consistent with the Party's longtime pro-choice policy. Regrettably, two NDP MPs did vote for the Tories' abortion resolution.

CARAL's other major goal is to improve the inequitable system of access to abortion across Canada.

In Alberta and New Brunswick, an abortion will be paid for by the Province if approved by 2 doctors and performed in a hospital. In Saskatchewan, there is the further requirement that the case be life-threatening or involve "medical necessity". In Manitoba, the government will pay for hospital abortions but not in clinics. In BC, Quebec and Ontario the Province will partially pay for clinic abortions. Newfoundland will pay for an abortion deemed medically necessary and the one hospital that performs abortion on a regular basis requires the approval of a gynaecologist, a psychiatrist, a social worker and counselling by a registered nurse. In PEI, no hospitals are willing to provide abortions.

Access to abortion for Canadian women remains concentrated in a few urban centres -- 1 hospital in Winnipeg and 1 in Halifax, for example, each perform 85% of the abortions in their respective provinces. Many hospitals refuse to offer abortions to women from outside the hospital's geographic catchment area. Free-standing clinics, now legal, remain a vital element in improving the access problem, and 4 new clinics (1 in Vancouver, 1 in Toronto and 2 in Montreal) and the reopening of the Morgentaler clinic in Winnipeg since the Supreme Court decision are bright spots in the access picture.

The Canada Health Act requires insured services to be universal, accessible, comprehensive and portable, and CARAL's position -- also the position of the NDP -- is that the federal government should be using the Act to penalize provinces which are not conforming to these legal standards in the case of abortion.

If Mulroney submits a new abortion bill to the House, he plans a free vote. Some NDP members do not support the NDP policy on Choice. Each member of the NDP has to urge that free choice and the personal conscience of a woman requesting an abortion should reign supreme. This fall, join the nation-wide march to campaign for "No New Law" on abortion.

Regula Modlich, a professional town planner, outlined the activities carried out by an activist collective called "Planning the Community for Women". They campaign for safer, accessible transportation that is user-friendly to pregnant women, toddlers and shopping mothers.

Ms Modlich encouraged citizen participation in public community planning and council meetings to see that the needs of women are one of the major foci of all development and revision of public facilities.

Laurel Rothman of the Ontario Coalition for Better Day-care outlined the history of the day care movement and its goals for comprehensive, fully funded day care services, not a welfare program.

The much touted Federal Day Care Act (Bill C144) died with the call for the election. Provincial and municipal governments seem unwilling to meet the needs of working women for quality, affordable, accessible day care.

There is only space for just one child for every 10 that apply.

The daycare coalition continues to struggle for: more dollars for community day care; open-ended funding; national objectives to ensure high quality, comprehensive care; and increase in provincial funds to cover the needs of all children on the waiting list.

## Native militancy

Continued from page 3

against cutbacks in federal government funding of Native students in post-secondary education have shown the growth of a new youthful militant leadership. The repression of Native activists, including the killing of a prominent Manitoba leader by the RCMP in unusual circumstances, increasing moves to develop a Native justice system and the growing campaign for self-government in Quebec's Native communities are some signs of this militancy.

New Democrats must embrace the Native struggle not only by passing resolutions such as the one being circulated by Dan Heap and other left members of parliament (write us for a copy) but also by organizing financial support as well as active participation in the protests themselves. Only by participating in the ongoing struggle will we become a party that truly speaks for the oppressed and dispossessed.

## On sexual harassment

By Lois M. Stuart

Broadview-Greenwood NDP

An April 26/89 Globe and Mail letter by Constance Backhouse says, "I have watched with amazement the furor over the University of Toronto sexual harassment incident involving the professor's ogling women in the swimming pool. Who would ever have guessed that the right to 'leer' would be publicly sanctified by so many?"

Sexual harassment complaints are ridiculed and reviled -- even though some threaten home and job -- for the same reason that all MP's, except NDP ones, laughed when Margaret Mitchell exposed the prevalence of wife battering in Canada, typifying the general societal contempt for women that even our *soi disant* "enlightened", "civilized" culture has been unable to eradicate.

This contempt leads to everything from the patronizing pat on Iona Campagnola's behind by John Turner to the appalling statistics implicating husbands, lovers and "exes" in almost half of all murders committed.

The same contempt produces laws which punish molesters of boys more harshly than molesters of girls, even though girls are molested and/or sexually abused 2.5 times more often than boys, almost always in more seriously traumatic ways.

Our very language encourages contempt, as it abounds in dreadful words for women, but almost none for men. Have you ever heard of a male slut, bimbo or battleaxe? Even the phrase son of a bitch is an attack on a male's mother, not himself.

"Women's work" jobs, such as caring for children, are denigrated, and promotion in all areas of work is denied to women.

Sexual harassment and other discriminatory practices are experienced by all women to varying degrees. We cannot call ourselves socialists unless we work to mitigate and eliminate the weighty burdens carried by half the human race as fervently as we propose our socialist principles.

The NDP has opposed the contempt that lies behind women's problems by espousing affirmative action and abor-

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# ONDP Left Caucus holds '89 conference

By Jeff Smith  
Willowdale NDP

The 1989 annual conference of the ONDP Left Caucus took place in Toronto on the last weekend of February. On the Friday night, a forum entitled "The Way Forward for the NDP" was addressed by then leader of the provincial Quebec NDP, Roland Morin, who criticized the federal Party's neglect of the aspirations of the Quebecois resulting in a failure to secure a base for the Party in Quebec despite its pre-election popularity. Also on the platform was Toronto MP Dan Heap who stated that, although he initially supported the Meech Lake Accord, he would no longer do so. Willowdale federal candidate, Anne Adelson, pointed out the need for the NDP to develop an activist strategy. Other speakers included: Left Caucus co-chairperson Gord Doctorow, who gave a socialist analysis of the election debacle and called for the Party to make a left turn; Windsor MP Howard McCurdy, who strongly criticized the way the Party strategists botched the free trade issue; OFL vice-president Susie Vallance, who pointed out the need for the Party to remain true to its working-class base.

The following day saw a variety of workshops covering a wide range of issues starting in the morning with a women's panel discussion. Afternoon sessions encompassed housing, education, militarism, and racial equality. Workshop leaders included representatives from the trade union movement, trustees, teacher organizations, the anti-war movement and the co-op housing movement.

In solidarity with the Black community's fight against racism within Toronto's police force the conference adopted a resolution calling for the creation of a civilian review board with representatives from those sectors of the community which have been particularly the subject of police abuse: e.g. trade unionists, Blacks, women, gays.

A productive day was closed with the elections of a new steering committee (listed below) and the structuring of a resolutions subcommittee to formulate resolutions for the federal convention.

*Left Caucus Steering Committee: Co-chairpersons -- Lois Bedard (High Park-Swansea) and Gord Doctorow*

(Oriole); Secretary -- Diane Meaghan (Don Valley North); Treasurer -- Manfred Netzel (Parkdale); Members-at-Large -- Lois Stuart (Broadview-Greenwood), Barb Mersereau (Hamilton), Lois Mei (Brampton), Esther Bissoon (Willowdale), Walter Stuart (Broadview-Greenwood), Ari Rozin (Don Valley North), Jim Anderson (Scarborough-Ellesmere), Harry Kopyto (St. Paul's), Steve Sobol (Glendon NDP).

## Funds urgently needed

By Manfred Netzel  
Parkdale NDP

**BULLETIN:** Left Caucus Cash Crisis! This is an urgent appeal to all members and friends of the ONDP Left Caucus for funds. The newsletter you are reading (and hopefully enjoying) costs over \$600 to produce and mail. The very successful annual conference last spring in Toronto cost over \$2,000 to stage. The policy forums that have been organized over the past few years, despite some volunteer resources, are not cheap. The Left Caucus fundraising committee has set a target of \$10,000 over the next two years. This amount is not only realistic, but necessary, in order to maintain the level of activities you have become accustomed to at the provincial and federal levels. If you love this organization, please make a generous donation soon. Cheques or money order should be made payable to ONDP Left Caucus. The mailing address is found on the masthead of this newsletter.

## Harassment hurts

*Continued from page 5*

tion rights policies, and has been publicly acknowledged by the NAC leadership. As with labor, however, we socialists and leaders in the NDP, facing ominous, fanatic, new anti-feminist, racist, anti-labor groups growing in voice and aggression, must use all our skill and strength to convince rank-and-file feminists, other women, ethnic groups and rank-and-file workers of both sexes that their best interests lie with us. We must get their help to bring about our desired socialist, feminist, non-racist society in which equality replaces exploitation, words vanquish weapons, and love triumphs over hate.

Laid out in a Union Shop

## Left Caucus newsletter

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# Left Caucus newsletter

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## NDP future depends on left leadership

By Harry Kopyto  
St. Paul's NDP

Despite former BC NDP leader Dave Barrett's last-minute entry into the NDP leadership campaign, the pickings for delegates to the upcoming federal convention looking for a socialist direction look slim indeed.

Barrett's entry into the campaign highlights the lack of discussion about fundamental issues that has characterized the leadership race from the start. In his flagrant attempt at a pro-western, Quebec-bashing tide, his campaign detracts from the central burning issue before New Democrats: how to restore the Party to its roots as a socialist movement seeking to expropriate the corporate rulers who own the commanding heights of the economy and establish socialist democracy and the rule of labor.

Despite the subtle nuances that are espoused by the various other contenders for the Party's top post, none of the candidates distinguished themselves from the Broadbent leadership strategy which resulted in the sacrifice of party principle on the altar of electoral opportunism in the disastrous election campaign last winter. None of the candidates have squarely contested Broadbent's summary assessment in his swansong speech March 4 that "We New Democrats believe in the marketplace including...private property, the right to make a profit...". None of them has posed the need to keep the NDP alive as an activist organisation made up of members involved in the mass movements that are our Party's lifeblood—the environmental movement, the women's movement, Quebecois nationalists, the Native people's movement and most importantly, the labor movement, which defines our Party's character and loyalty.

While individual leadership contestants have attempted to carve out a niche for themselves by calling for reform, the attacks made on the "party elite", the call for more passion in fighting for "social justice", the talk about "renewed leadership" remains largely rhetoric. This is so because none of these criticisms has been made within the framework of a rounded socialist program.

This is a program which poses basic solutions to the problems of capitalism, a program whose purpose is to build the NDP as a movement and to develop a strong core of politically active and educated cadres.

To the people of Canada whose health is threatened by industrial pollutants spewed into our rivers and lakes and the air we breathe, who face an irreversible ecological crisis within a decade, who continue

*Continued on page 2*

## NDP must be voice for abortion choice

By Kristina Montes Saier  
Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics

The fundamental right of women to make reproductive choices is again under attack by the federal government. It is threatening to bring back a restrictive criminal law sometime this fall.

Such a law would severely contradict the Supreme Court of Canada's landmark decision on abortion in 1988 striking down the old criminal law as inequitable and unfair. Women are not criminals!

Any new abortion law is an infringement on a woman's right to make her own decision.



Forcing women to carry an unwanted pregnancy to term amounts to reproductive slavery.

Chantal Daigle clearly understood this point. The Daigle case, in which a disgruntled boyfriend used an injunction to prevent her from having an abortion, encompassed the broader issue of state control over a woman's life -- hampering her ability to live and work as she chooses and endangering her health by preventing an early abortion.

Moreover, the Daigle injunction was nothing more than a covert, nasty form of sexual harassment. Must women suffer such humiliation at the hands of men and the state? Is this equality?

Free and equal access to abortion is an essential precondition of women being able to control their bodies and their lives. Abortion must be a matter of health policy, not criminal law. Both levels of government must provide the resources so that every woman has prompt access to abortion and all other needed reproductive care in her own community. This means improving care in hospitals. Most importantly a network of publicly funded women's reproductive health centres should provide not only

*Continued on page 2*



# Left leadership needed to solve NDP crisis

to face global environmental calamity caused by private corporations in ruthless pursuit of greater profit margins, the next leader of our party should call for community and workers' committees with lawful authority to oversee and veto management practices and decisions which may threaten the health and safety of our population.

To the people of Canada who wish to extend the hand of friendship and peace to all other people of the world and to put an end to the madness of a nuclear arms race fuelled by billions of dollars of tax money sorely needed to meet the needs of our social programs, the next leader of our party should call for a clear break from the U.S. military-industrial complex, immediate withdrawal from the military alliances of NATO and NORAD which integrate us into the aggressive war plans of the U.S. generals and opposition to parliamentary approval for new military expenditures.

To the people of Canada who are trapped in a prison-house of nations forged by British colonialism in alliance with the Family Compact, and who face systemic and institutional discrimination on the basis of language, national origin and culture, including the Native peoples, the Quebecois and the Acadians, the next leader of our party should call for the legal recognition by the Canadian state of the right of such peoples to self-determination up to and including the creation of their own institutions of self-government and control of their own political and economic destinies.

To the more than 50% of the population of Canada who face the prospect of a government which seeks to reintroduce legislation restricting their ability to determine for themselves and in consultation with a doctor whether or not to carry a pregnancy to full term, the next leader of our party should call for New Democrats to infuse the pro-choice movement with their own ranks, to integrate themselves fully into the struggle of women to control their own bodies and to ensure that the Parliamentary Caucus is

## ***Fight against abortion criminalization!***

abortion services and counselling but also midwifery, birth control, sexuality counselling and care for the full spectrum of women's reproductive lives.

We know that without free and equal access it is women of color, poor women and those from under serviced regions that suffer the most. Governments have to move quickly to overcome these barriers. At the federal level, NDP policy calls for implementation of the Canada Health Act to ensure that provinces provide free abortions as an essential service. Nothing less is acceptable.

Here in Ontario the government introduced Bill 147, the Independent Health Facilities Act. However, this bill will hinder rather than facilitate setting up community clinics. It will also allow commercial and foreign-owned clinics. The history of child care and nursing homes shows the poor quality care and unequal access that can result. More ominously, the bill could be used to shut down Choices in Health, the third free-standing clinic established in Toronto. The government must be told that the women's movement, the labor movement and the NDP will

committed to a binding vote against the reintroduction of abortion laws.

To the new generation of Canadians who face unemployment, to those who cannot afford adequate housing, to the 25% of Canadians for whom grinding poverty is an inescapable daily fact, the next leader of our party should call for the establishment of a predominant public sector in our branch-plant economy centred around the creation of a worker-managed, plan geared to production for human use and designed to meet real human needs rather than the haphazard and chaotic accumulation of profit.

To the membership of our Party who have gone through a demoralizing experience where the Liberal Party outflanked us on the left on the free-trade issue in the last election campaign and where the level of commitment and activity of our party membership is dangerously low, the next leader of our Party should call for a party that has an active internal life between elections and which publishes a monthly paper that will air the full panorama of views within the Party on the current crisis within it.

The necessary socialist framework for the regeneration of our party and the re-establishment of its credibility among working people has been charted by Canadian Auto Workers leader Bob White in two trenchant written criticisms following the election disaster last winter when the party snatched defeat from the jaws of victory by attempting to jettison its program. Yet the labor movement has failed to carry through by proffering a candidate from its ranks who would proudly stand by our program in public and who would be accountable to the membership for enunciating it clearly and emphatically. The vacuum remains. Before we can proudly walk in the footsteps of J. S. Woodsworth, Agnes McPhail and others whose vision of a socialist Canada inspired our predecessor party and gave it its roots, vitality and longevity, the vacuum will have to be filled.

never allow this.

The federal government has never said why it needs a new criminal law. If it wants to prevent late abortions, the answer is clear: provide equal and timely access to early abortion. If the purpose is to guarantee high quality care, as it should be, then this can be secured in the same way as any other service: provide adequate facilities and resources. So what is needed is not criminal regulation but government commitment to woman's health and equality. And that is really what is at issue here. A criminal law is all about regulating women's bodies and denying choice. This is why we reject such a law totally.

The NDP has traditionally taken a pro-choice stand. Now more than ever it is necessary to mobilize, march, demonstrate with our supporters across the country. Your body is a battleground! Don't lose the right to choose! Demonstrate the day following introduction of a new law at Tory Party Headquarters, 121 Richmond St. West at 5:30 p.m.

In Toronto, for more info call OCAC at 969-8463.



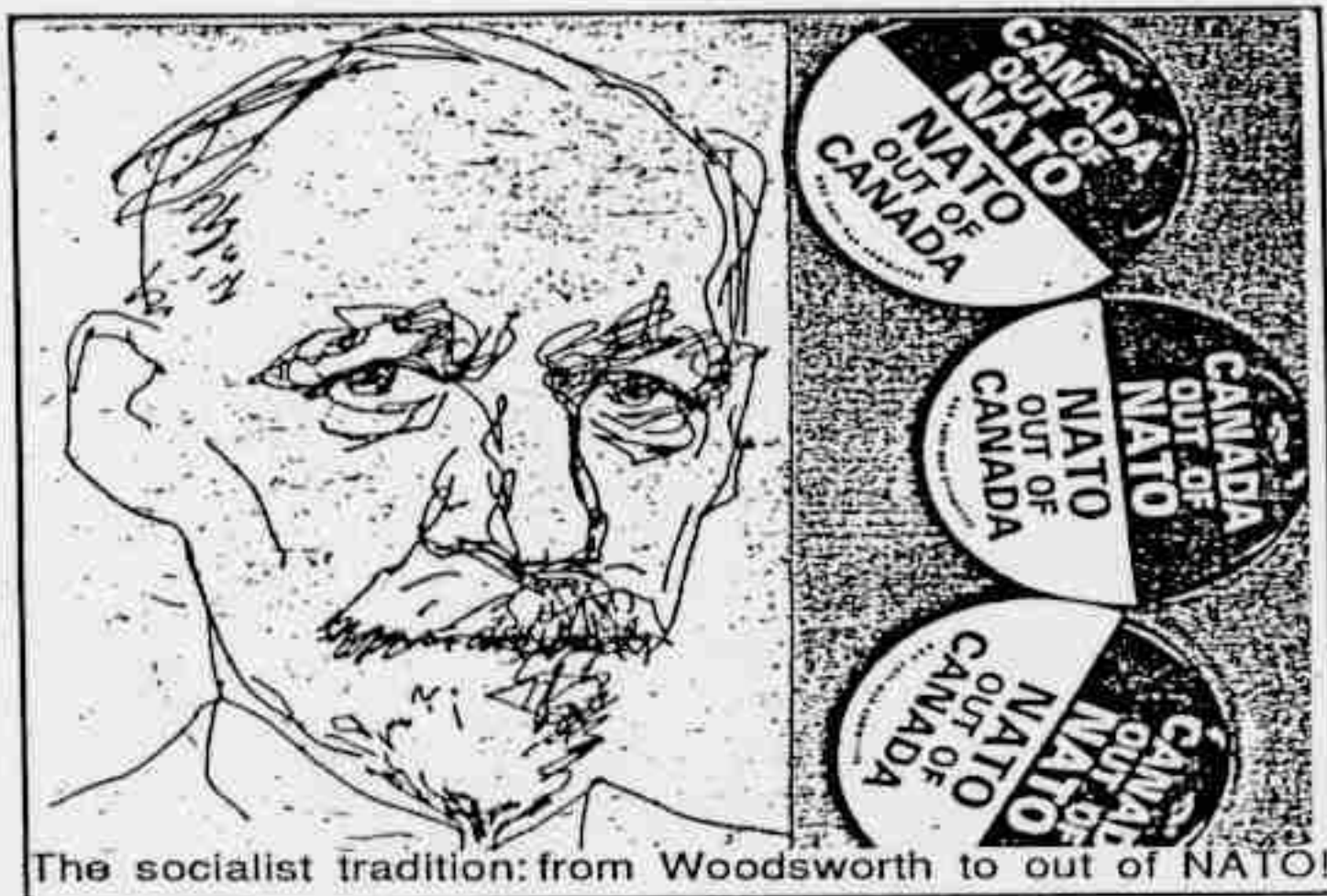
# Historical roots of NDP's crisis

By Bill Clinton

Scarborough-Ellesmere NDP

In the last federal election, the NDP, which had entered the race with the all-time highest vote of public support and confidence, went down to a spectacular defeat. Why?

The party lost its first real opportunity to take political office at the federal level because it was hampered by misleadership. Rather than presenting the party as a credible, working-class based challenge to the Liberals and Tories, the Broadbent team offered up the spectacle of an NDP that was open to a coalition with either the Liberals or the Tories. Broadbent made it clear that he was open to compromise with the enemies of labor and thus undercut the notion that the NDP is fundamentally different from



either of the two Big Business parties and, worse, lent credibility to them before the public. As for the struggle against Free Trade, the Broadbent team provided no alternative to the demagogic nationalism of John Turner who sounded far more "left" than Broadbent in his pronouncements.

How did the NDP come to sink so low? How did Canada's labor party come to the point where its leaders could so isolate its natural milieu and gut its program?

The roots of the party's degeneration go back quite a way. One can argue about the exact point of departure but what is clear is that the crisis of leadership was coming to a head as early as 1950.

Commencing with the 1950 CCF National Convention, under the pressure of the "cold war", the CCF leadership began waging a "revision", a "bringing up to date of" and a "redrafting of" the Regina Manifesto. National Chairman David Lewis tried to persuade the convention delegates that the efforts of the leadership along this line were "not a rejection of the Manifesto, but an attempt to get a most modern and beneficial application of socialist principles." This crafty manoeuvre got a big boost at the July 1956 Convention of the Saskatchewan CCF, from then-Premier T.C. "Tommy" Douglas who argued that "The Manifesto was never thought of as an inspired document which laid down the truth for all time."

Statements like these caused disquiet among the par-

ty's grassroots, not so much for what the leadership was saying but because, over a period of 20 years or so prior to Douglas's statement, there had been a gradual retreat of the CCF leadership from the principled policies that they had previously advocated.

It was now clear that the party brass wanted to remove the socialist essence from the party's program. They wanted to eliminate the CCF's commitment to "oppose wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism", to "socialize the basic means of production", to "eliminate the exploitation of one class by another", and to "eradicate capitalism."

By throwing out the Regina Manifesto and adopting a new program, one more in line with their liberal-reformist approach, the leadership wanted to legitimize their rejection and betrayal-in-practice of the party's program. This right shift found a corresponding organizational expression in the form of attacks upon the party's left wing, and eventually led to the demise of the CCF as an effective federal force in Canadian political life.

The attack began in December 1954 with the British Columbia CCF leadership's "Program for Action". This "Program" was an attempt to suppress the expression of socialist thought in the party. The fight against the "Program" was led by prominent left wingers Dorothy Steves, Colin Cameron (MP) and E.E. Winch (MLA).

Ernie Winch had been in the CCF from its beginning and, prior to that, a leader of the Socialist Party of Canada, one of the founding organizations of the CCF which had brought in a number of trade unions and MP's. Winch placed his great prestige on the line when he called attention to that section of the "Program of Action" threatening and proscribing those "holding and publicizing a philosophy and program alien to the CCF". He said that this was aimed at Marxists and declared: "I am a Marxist, I will continue to be a Marxist, and will never miss an opportunity to expound Marxist principles and theory -- and what are you going to do about it?"

Another indication of the leadership's degeneration is its approach to imperialism. When the Liberal government had originally urged NATO upon the House of Commons, the Coldwell leadership of the CCF had bought the idea on the basis of the high-sounding Article 2 of the NATO agreement, the clause on non-military aid. In 1956, the federal Liberal government of Louis St. Laurent gave away 2 billion dollars worth of arms in military "aid" to NATO members and not one cent of non-military aid.

Article 2 was intended solely to seduce the leadership of the only major political party that might have opposed the NATO agreement. The bubble was burst when Hazen Argue, CCF MP from Saskatchewan, proposed that some of the massive wheat surplus that Canada had produced in 1958 be given to underdeveloped countries. Federal Trade Minister C.D. Howe replied, "your plan is utterly fantastic! Government policy is to sell for cash!"

The Broadbent leadership's document on "Common

*Continued on page 4*



# Left Caucus fills gap in NDP

By Harry Kopyto  
St. Paul's NDP

The election campaign last winter constituted an acid test for the party leadership's efforts to succeed electorally by camouflaging the NDP's principles and program. Seeing the possibility of at least forming the official opposition, the Broadbent leadership set into high gear the process of shedding the NDP of every shred of the "embarrassing" associations -- with trade unions, pacifism and radicalism. The result was an Emperor not only without any clothes, but also without an Empire.

The efforts to transform the NDP into a "respectable" vehicle for electoral success by vitiating its character as a movement representing working people and their allies in their struggle for a collective society has deep roots.

The NDP more and more has taken on the character of a

milieu for the rulers of corporate Canada to co-opt its various leaders into the the service of capitalist governments. How decayed is the lineage that connects the radical anti-capitalist founder of the CCF, J.S. Woodsworth, with former Manitoba NDP premier Ed Schreyer whose post-government reward was to wear the austere robes of Her Majesty's representative in Canada as Governor-General?

The strength of the party itself, as a democratic movement in which the membership decides policies at conventions, has also been weakened as the leadership dumped our 20-year-old opposition to NATO/NORAD and arms production. They advocated ongoing efforts to retain NATO membership, to replace NORAD with another military alliance, and even to offer to create jobs by developing a Canadian arms production capacity.

*Continued on page 6*

## *Historical roots of NDP's loss of ideals*

*Continued from page 3*

Security", which softened the NDP's anti-NATO stance in the last federal election, fails to recognize NATO's real purpose -- to provide military assistance to shore up tottering capitalist regimes. Like the CCF leadership before it, the present NDP brass maintains illusions about reforming NATO!

The struggle for an anti-war party, the split between the party ranks and the party leadership were highlighted yet again in August 1959 at the 24th Annual Saskatchewan CCF Convention. A resolution calling for unilateral disarmament of Canada, for withdrawal from NATO and opposing extension of nuclear bases to Canada was almost passed despite the objections of CCF national leader M.J. Coldwell and Saskatchewan CCF Premier T.C. Douglas. Douglas spoke vigorously against unilateral disarmament and only his and Coldwell's combined pleas to the ranks succeeded in defeating the motion -- by a slim majority.

In a repeat performance T.C. Douglas blackmailed the NDP delegates at the founding convention of the party in 1961 by threatening to withdraw his leadership candidacy if the party adopted an anti-NATO policy.

The U.S. imperialist war against Viet Nam was also to have its impact on the NDP and would also highlight the nature of its leadership. Contrast the active involvement of thousands of NDP members in the movement against the U.S. war in Viet Nam and Canadian Complicity in it with David Lewis's savage attacks against those party members ("Communist dupes," as he called them) until his sudden and opportunistic about-face late in 1970.

When one sees the history of the party leadership's degeneration, the list of betrayals and the extent of the manoeuvring, it is easy to see why and how Ed Broadbent was able to scuttle the party's anti-NATO and anti-NORAD stances and jettison the left policy positions of the party in the last election. After all, Broadbent was elected to his leadership post after the ebb of the youth radicalization of the 1960's and early 1970's and the expulsion of the Waffle from the Ontario NDP by then-leader Stephen Lewis. Broadbent's role is not unique, merely another familiar symptom of a long-running political malady

in the NDP, and before it in the CCF—a leadership that is willing to abandon party program to suit a usually misperceived electoral opportunity.

Perhaps the crisis of program and leadership was best summed up in 1961 by J.S. Woodsworth's biographer, Professor Kenneth McNaught. At a packed meeting of the Toronto High Park CCF in June, McNaught quoted at length the candidate-for-new-party-leader Douglas and then gave his analysis of Douglas's agenda, saying "he takes his stands straight out of (liberal economist) J.K. Galbraith." McNaught stated that the CCF's former leader J.S. Woodsworth "would never have accepted a party line which was based on the myth of taming capitalism."

"He would still believe that as long as a significant sector of collective wealth is left in private ownership, that sector will ultimately control the press, the pulpit, and the government. He would certainly underline the impossibility of serving the public sector adequately through tax revenue and inducements to private industry."

"He would be deeply interested in puncturing the popular myth that the West is no longer imperialistic. The advent of nuclear weapons with its concomitant possibility of ending all civilization would have swept away any lingering doubts he might have had about his condemnation of war as a necessary continuance of diplomacy."

"Woodsworth might well have been unpopular were he here today, but for the health of the New Party it is a shame he is not."

Yet, despite the opportunistic backstabbing by its leadership over decades, the NDP retains, surprisingly, its resilience as the voice of social protest, its organic ties with organized labor and its role as a political pole of attraction to those who seek to elect labor to power.

That goal, however, will be elusive until a new leadership, forged in principled fights, steeled in the battles of working people and rooted in the politics of class struggle, takes over the helm of the leadership.



# Environmental choice: socialism or disaster

By Ron Bobker  
Oakville NDP

The "environment" has suddenly become respectable. Politicians of all political stripes in the major industrial countries of the world all have their platitudes ready for stopping pollution and for preserving wildlife from the ravages of greed and bureaucracy. The topic has now been seized by the business-dominated media from the activist, often radical, groups who have been struggling around environmental issues for the past three decades.

We are being swamped with information, and much of what we hear is not encouraging. Pollution knows no boundaries and is out of the control of political regimes. Thus, Central Europe, and especially Poland, has some of the most severe pollution found anywhere in the world. Carrots grown in many parts of Poland contain dangerous amounts of lead and cadmium, and the air is so bad that Krakow has the highest infant mortality rate in Europe. This does not say much for so-called socialism, as practiced in the East Bloc countries.

The NDP needs to identify a genuinely socialist approach to ensure that the environment will be fit for future generations of human beings as well as many of the other life forms with whom we share this planet. Simply to decry the state of the environment amounts to jumping on the bandwagon of the Green Party. However well-meaning the Greens may be, their single-issue approach ignores the economic and political realities that have given rise to the geophysical problem in the first place.

The socialist approach is to say: "Look, the surface of the earth is covered with poisonous filth because of corporate greed, economic expedience and lust for power. So, unless we change the operating conditions there is no chance in changing the end result, and this, by all accounts is going to be disaster."

Many eminent authorities (like Canada's David Suzuki) are convinced that we have now passed the point of no return in certain environmental imbalances, and that we have no more than another ten years in which to change our life styles. The well-known effects that we can expect include increased ultra-violet radiation, because of depletions in the ozone layer, and a massive warming of the atmosphere caused by the increased quantities of carbon dioxide (due to the burning of fossil fuels). There is also a risk of oxygen depletion because the massive reduction of the area of the Brazilian rain forest has decreased the total photosynthesis capacity of the earth.

The earth's surface is a closed system, quite large, but nevertheless finite. Repercussions affecting life processes result from even small changes made inside a closed system. The only way we can prevent injurious changes from occurring is to plan our economic activities as governed by human needs and our technical abilities.

In a word, our economy will have to be planned rigorously for the public interest to improve the quality of life rather than to satisfy private, corporate profitability at all costs if we are not to experience untold suffering by the changes that are now taking place all around us. The Greens can only say "Stop!" (in their recent inaugural convention in Britain they told the British people to stop having babies in order to reduce the population by 20% by the turn of the century), but that is no help because there is no context to their words.

New ways of thinking will be vital, as will the participation of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the world. We know that state-run bureaucracies (that are now



Profit of doom!

crumbling in the Eastern Bloc countries) cannot provide the answer; neither can Capitalism. The only way we can survive is by having proper participation of all people in the running of our planet. Everyone will have his/her part to play, and hence everyone will have the responsibility of being aware of what is happening.

A serious beginning is to strive for democratic control of the workplaces by working people in conjunction with the progressive expansion of publicly owned enterprises. Workers' control of the workplace, especially with regard to control of the conditions of health and safety, would act to eliminate hazardous effluents and materials. If profit is not the determinant of employment, but providing the basic necessities of life along with a reasonable variety of consumer choices is, workers would have a vested interest in maintaining and improving the environment.

A key goal of production methods would be to reduce the amount of necessary labor time to satisfy human wants. Such energy and labor saving methods as recycling, getting rid of unnecessary and non-degradable packaging, eliminating planned obsolescence and decreasing throw-away goods are what is needed. If workers are guaranteed no loss in takehome pay, then there would be no economic penalty associated with doing this and it would help reduce the amount of energy consumed and unnecessary output produced to ease the pressure of economic activity on the environment.

Economic decisions must be exercised at the local level to implement large-scale plans in which representatives of all strata of society would have a say. Broad goals, like restoring the environment, eliminating war, raising the standard of living for the poorest, etc. would be on the agenda, once economic activity is freed from the mind-set of maximizing profits. Trade would be liberated from its dog-eat-dog competition and reorganized for the extension of collaborative efforts for all humanity since we live in an interdependent world. Cultural and leisure pursuits would increase with a renewed emphasis on creativity which would benefit us all. For example, volunteer activity for wildlife conservation and restoration and projects to improve recycling and safe disposal of wastes would be a normal part of young people's interests.

The NDP must gain support for this vision of society among working people, native groups, women, and all the others who suffer disproportionately in our capitalist-consumerist society. We must educate towards radical transformation rather than clinging to reforms of an unreformable market economy. A lot of hard work is going to be needed before the necessary changes can begin, but the time for the first step towards socialism in Canada is now.



# Left Caucus fills gap

Continued from page 4

The balance sheet after nearly 30 years is uninspiring -- a party without a continuous core of activists, with a demoralized membership, inactive ridings, a leadership campaign which has failed to ignite any real interest.

Yet, despite all this, the party is far from finished. The labor movement in this country still looks to the NDP as its defender in the political arena. No formation has emerged to the left of the NDP challenging its hold on the allegiance of working people. No alternative outside the NDP poses the need for labor to come to power.

But the gap between the objective needs of the labor movement and the failure of the NDP leadership to speak for these needs is widening. Only the Left Caucus, despite its modest forces and limited resources has offered a visionary program and posed the need to fill the gap, to synthesize the immediate needs to defend labor with the broader goal of promoting the political transformation of Canadian society.

The Left Caucus seeks to retain, regroup, and organize NDPers who retain a clear socialist vision in the mass arena of the labor movement. The Left Caucus, which inherited the principles and traditions of the Socialist Caucus in the 60s and the Waffle (1969-72), has always offered a clear focus for convention debates on the need for an independent foreign policy, public ownership under workers' control and defence of the right of Quebec to self-determination. In tandem with the Quebec Caucus and the Women's Caucus, the Left Caucus has been instrumental in ensuring that the NDP addressed the concerns of activists in the movements of social protest.

In the 1969 debate on NATO, various debates in the 70s on public ownership, the 1983 debate on a new manifesto for the NDP and the 1985 debates on NATO, abortion and Quebec, the Left Caucus played a key role in organizing, mobilizing and articulating policy positions. In these instances, the Left Caucus succeeded in winning majority delegate support and deflecting the leadership's attacks on the Party's democratic-socialist traditions.

The 1983 Manifesto for the NDP drafted by the Left Caucus in Ontario is a rounded, clear alternative vision for the NDP which even now retains its timeliness.

The Left Caucus Manifesto ties the immediate, economic struggles of working people against unemployment, for affordable housing, for equal rights for women, for safe working conditions, for job security, in defence of trade union rights and against discrimination against minorities with the broader goal of creating a socialist Canada. The Left Caucus approach is to build the NDP as the Labor Party, the Anti-war Party, the Feminist Party, the Environmental Party, the Party that respects the right of self-determination for Native peoples and Quebecois. The Left Caucus sees the NDP as a vehicle for public rallying, for political education, for attracting to its ranks activist-leaders from the various social movements. The Party's membership must be imbued with a loyalty to the working class as deep and fierce as the loyalty of the Liberals and Conservatives to the banks and insurance companies.

Implicitly the Left Caucus poses the need for a leadership proud of our socialist program, accountable to the membership for its promulgation and seeking power for the purpose of its implementation. At a time when personality politics and electoral opportunism has eviscerated our party's role as a social movement, the development of the left within the party will become vital to maintaining our rich socialist heritage.

## Fund Drive Appeal

Since our last newsletter, we have received some \$300 in donations. While this is helpful for sustaining the Newsletter, it is not enough. Our 2-year goal of \$10,000 remains our objective.

The challenge before us is to advance the cause of socialism and to act as the memory of the Party's socialist traditions. That is why we include analytical, historical, as well as campaign, articles. There is no newspaper in the Ontario or federal NDP. No vehicle to develop ideas, exchange views, synthesize experiences.

The Newsletter is too modest in scope to substitute for the Party leadership's failure. but its continued existence and distribution, due to the painstaking efforts of a group of committed socialists, will spur the Party's left on. We will continue to perform our role if you act to provide the funds. Send your cheques to the ONDP Newsletter at our masthead address.

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# Left Caucus newsletter

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# Left Caucus eyewitness report on Chinese uprising in Tiananmen Square

*Angie Codina was a member of a previous ONDP Left Caucus Steering Committee. On May 30, she spoke to a crowd of hundreds of thousands of students in Beijing's Tiananmen Square five days before the massacre by Chinese troops of the vanguard of the protest movement that swept China last spring. Along with a representative of the Young Socialists, the British Labour Party's youth wing, she brought greetings of international solidarity to the assembly in a 10-minute speech which was simultaneously translated and broadcast over loudspeakers. Identifying herself as a member of the New Democratic Party in Canada, she told the crowd teeming in the square: "We in the west applaud your efforts to achieve democratic reforms in China. Your protest is vital to the development of democratic principles within a socialist state." Codina taped 11 hours of conversations with protest leaders she met in Beijing and spoke to student rallies at Beijing University on two other occasions.*

## By Angie Codina

The development of the pro-democracy movement earlier in the year must be examined in the framework of China's economic reforms which commenced in 1979. This article aims to explore the conditions which led the Chinese students and the millions of Chinese workers who joined them to protest. Another

objective is to analyze the nature of the struggle and to establish the pro-socialist character of the movement and the counter-revolutionary character of the bureaucracy.

The death of reformist Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang in April of this year sparked massive demonstrations initiated by Party history students from People's University. The movement, however, took a



new turn on May 4 which was the 70th anniversary of the 1919 student demonstration that precipitated mass action for the national democratic revolution. On May 4, a large contingent of workers joined the demonstrations with their own demands. As the demonstrations continued, the workers formed "Independent Workers' Unions" around the country and even put up a tent to represent such a union in Tiananmen Square in the later part of May.

*Continued on reverse*



# Chinese students

*Continued from other side*

While Beijing workers demonstrated their support for the oppositionists, they remained minority participants in the movement. As for the peasantry, which is the big majority of the active population in China, it still does not participate in political activity.

The miserable living conditions and the bleak likelihood of future unemployment fuelled the student discontent. However, direct economic demands have played a very small role in the current wave of protests. Indeed, the Chinese students have linked a harsh denunciation of the bureaucracy's material privileges and corruption to their central democratic demands.

The Chinese economy cannot continue to grow without continued modernization in technology and management. The modernization of China's industry carries with it the threat of death to the bureaucracy's power but also renders the expansion of democracy absolutely necessary.

The Chinese ruling elite is seen as a team of autocrats which has become non-responsive to the masses. The Chinese people no longer recognize the Communist Party as the legitimate representative of the working class and peasantry. In the recent period, many workers have begun to experience the effects of unemployment and inflation as a result of the CP's recent economic reforms. The bureaucracy-dominated CP can no longer be seen as fulfilling the socialist ideal.

In struggling for democratic reforms, the Chinese students are fighting for the workers and poor peasants and for renewed progress in the direction of socialism. Their methods are those of self-organization and popular democracy, revolutionary goals that the CP proclaims in empty speeches.

Some people claim that the student pro-democracy movement identifies democracy with capitalism and its object is to implement

capitalistic economic and political reforms. And so they denounce the movement as counter-revolutionary in nature.

My experience is contrary to this view. As an active participant in the movement and the activities in Tiananmen Square for a full week prior to the June 4 massacre, I can definitely confirm the pro-socialist character of the movement. At no time did any of the students advocate capitalism. The "Goddess of democracy" (statue of liberty) was built as a universal symbol of liberty and democracy and was not regarded as a symbol in support of capitalism. In fact, during the unveiling of the statue, the students sang the hymn of the revolutionary Marxist movement, *The Internationale*, which was also broadcast and sung on other occasions during the week.

This understanding is reinforced by the fact that many students felt the statue of liberty was perhaps the wrong symbol because it could have been misinterpreted by western journalists and exploited by the West. These critics viewed the selection of this symbol as reflecting the immaturity of the students in not foreseeing the interpretation it could be given.

Although the subsequent repression has set back the hopes for a socialist democracy in China, the development of the present movement to a still higher stage of revolutionary consciousness is a genuine possibility.

When the people have a leadership with an alternative political program or agenda, mass action can be translated into a political revolution -- one which will seek not to replace socialist gains such as full employment and collective ownership of the country's wealth, but rather to rid the country of a corrupt bureaucracy which is holding socialist progress back. Such a leadership is not yet present in China. However, the experience of the 1989 mass action will be invaluable in the formation of such a revolutionary leadership in the future.